

Outline for: "Muslims and the Soviet State: The Challenge of a Non-Clerical Faith"

Law is only one of the weapons in the Soviet anti-religious arsenal and far from the most important; but even by itself, it has had a major impact on the structure, function and doctrines of religious communities in the USSR. In no other case has the impact of law been as great as in that of Soviet Islam. There are two reasons for this: First, Islam is not a religion like any other; and second, the Soviet authorities--particularly in their use of law--have misunderstood the nature of religion in general and of Islam in particular. This conjunction has resulted in a number of unintended consequences for both Soviet Muslims and the Soviet state. These are the subject of my talk.

I. Islam as a Religion and Communism as a Theory

- A. Islam is not a "church"
- B. Atheism and anti-clericalism
- C. Belief, Behaviour, and Legal Rules

II. The Evolution of Soviet Law on Islam

- A. The Sources of Soviet Legal Doctrine
  - 1. The Russian historical experience
  - 2. Leninist theory
  - 3. Party Pragmatists and Professional Experts
- B. The First Stage, 1917-1929
- C. World War II and the "Concordat"
- D. Protection and Repression
- E. The Limits of Law

III. Two Types of Islam

- A. Kinds of Islam
- B. "Official" Islam

Structures, Politics, Ideology

C. "Unofficial" Islam

Practice, Punishment, Interrelationships

IV. A New Understanding of a New Islam

A. From Orientalism to Sociology

1. Bromley and Tokarev--new ideas on religion and ethnicity
2. Saidbayev--a new picture of Islam
3. Primakov--the uses of Islam

B. Islam and Soviet Foreign Policy

1. From Tool to Factor to Actor
2. The Uses of Political Protection

V. Future Possibilities

A. Islam, Nationalism, and Dissent

B. Is there a role for law?